

Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 CAPE T 00495 01 OF 05 021015Z
ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 DHA-02 CU-02 TRSY-02 /085 W
-----021126Z 031020 /22

R 020733Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5902
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMCONSUL DURBAN
AMEMBASSY GABORONE POUCH
AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY MASERU POUCH
AMEMBASSY MBABANE POUCH
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 5 CAPE TOWN 0495

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINT SHUM SF
SUBJ: BLACK ATTITUDES: THE ROLE OF BLACK INTELLECTUALS

1. SUMMARY: THE LIMITED BUT GROWING NUMBER OF
INTELLECTUALS AMONG SOUTH AFRICAN BLACKS IS COMPOSED
LARGELY OF TEACHERS AND CHURCHMEN, WITH A SMALLER PROPOR-
TION OF ARTISTS, PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE, AND JOURNALISTS.
THEY COME FROM VARIETY OF BACKGROUNDS AND EDUCATIONAL
EXPERIENCES. THEY DIFFER AS TO OBJECTIVES AND APPROACH.

VIRTUALLY ALL ARE IN URBAN AREAS. ACUTELY SENSITIVE TO
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 CAPE T 00495 01 OF 05 021015Z

THE INDIGNITIES OF APARTHEID, THEY ARE THE OUTSPOKEN
APOSTLES OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS. THEIR MESSAGE
STRESSES BLACK SOLIDARITY, SELF-CONFIDENCE, SELF-IMPROVE-
MENT, SELF-RELIANCE, PRIDE AND EXCLUSIVITY.

2. THE SOWETO RIOTS CAUSED GOOD DEAL OF REFLECTION AMONG
SA'S BLACK INTELLECTUALS, AS STUDENTS ASSUMED LEADERSHIP

OF THE MORE ACTIVE ASPECT OF THE BLACK STRUGGLE IN 1976. THE INTELLECTUALS EXPERIENCED A SENSE OF SHAME AND INADEQUACY. THEIR ULTIMATE INVOLVEMENT, HOWEVER, LED TO THE BEGINNINGS OF COALESCENCE WITH STUDENTS. IN THE FUTURE, INTELLECTUALS ARE LIABLE TO BEAR MUCH OF THE BRUNT OF POLICE REPRESSION, BUT THEY ARE INCREASINGLY PERSUADED TIME AND NUMBERS ARE ON THEIR SIDE.

3. FEELING A CERTAIN NATURAL AFFINITY WITH THE US AND RESPECT FOR AMERICA'S MULTIRACIAL SOCIETY, BLACK INTELLECTUALS ARE GENERALLY DISAPPOINTED USG HAS NOT DONE MORE TO BRING ABOUT CHANGES IN SA. THEY TEND TO ATTRIBUTE US INACTION TO THE INFLUENCE OF AMERICAN BUSINESS WITH INVESTMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA. THE ADVENT OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS, HOWEVER, AROUSED NEW EXPECTATIONS.

4. FOR THE PURPOSE OF THIS DISCUSSION, INTELLECTUALS AMONG THE INDIAN AND COLORED COMMUNITIES ARE NOT CONSIDERED. ALTHOUGH THEIR ENUNCIATION OF THE PLIGHT OF ALL BLACKS AND POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS ARE WELCOMED AND APPRECIATED, THEY ARE NOT CONSIDERED AS AMONG THE TURE LEADERS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN BLACKS. END SUMMARY

5. WHO ARE THE BLACK INTELLECTUALS? THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR SOUTH AFRICAN BLACKS TO RISE FROM BACKWARDNESS AND IGNORANCE HAVE BEEN EXTREMELY LIMITED. THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IS DESIGNED TO EDUCATE SMALL NUMBERS OF BLACKS TO A LEVEL WHICH WILL MAKE THEM USEFUL IN SUPPORT OF THE WHITE SOCIETY. THE RESTRICTIONS OF APARTHEID HAVE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 CAPE T 00495 01 OF 05 021015Z

SUBSTANTIALLY CLOSED OFF POSSIBILITIES FOR BLACKS TO MOVE INTO THE PROFESSIONS, THE ARTS, SCIENCES AND OTHER OCCUPATIONS WHERE THEY COULD BECOME MORE FULLY AWARE OF THE WORLD'S AFFAIRS AND GAIN A CLEARER APPRECIATION OF THEIR OWN POSITION. THE NUMBER OF BLACK INTELLECTUALS IS THEREFORE VERY SMALL IN PROPORTION TO THE BLACK POPULATION, AND CONSISTS OF THOSE FEW WHO HAVE BEEN ABLE TO BUCK THEIR WAY UPWARD DESPITE ALL OBSTACLES.

6. THE CHURCH HAS BEEN THE MOST READILY AVAILABLE CHANNEL FOR BLACK ENLIGHTENMENT. CHURCHES HAVE BY AND LARGE PROVIDED THE FRAMEWORK FOR EDUCATING THE UNTUTORED BLACK AND ENCOURAGING THE DEVELOPMENT OF HIS SELF-AWARENESS. CHRISTIAN TRADITION HAS KEPT RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS, INCLUDING THE INDEPENDENT AFRICAN CHURCHES, FAIRLY SAFE FROM HARRASSMENT AND CONTROL BY THE WHITE REGIME. THE CHURCH HAS BECOME A RESERVOIR OF RELATIVELY EDUCATED, ALERT AND POLITICALLY CONSCIOUS BLACKS. WHILE THERE IS AN INCLINATION AMONG THEM TO APPROACH SOCIAL AND

POLITICAL ISSUES INDIRECTLY AND ON MORAL OR RELIGIOUS GROUNDS, MANY OF THE BLACK CLERGY ARE, LIKE DR. MANAS BUTHELEZI, INCREASINGLY MILITANT AND PREPARED TO TAKE THE RISKS INVOLVED. WE HAVE NOTED ELSEWHERE IN THIS SERIES A PERCEPTIBLE TENDENCY ON THE PART OF BLACK YOUTH TO RETAIN OR EVEN STRENGTHEN TIES TO THE CHURCH. THIS IS PROBABLY BECAUSE THE CHURCH NOT ONLY CONTINUES TO BE A SOURCE OF MORAL ENCOURAGEMENT AND A PLACE OF SAFE CONGREGATION BUT ALSO BECAUSE OF THE NEW ASSERTIVENESS AMONG SOME BLACK CHURCHMEN.

7. THE NEED FOR BLACK TEACHERS IN SUBSTANTIAL NUMBERS PROVIDED A SECOND MAJOR ROUTE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTELLECTUALS. THOSE BLACKS MOVING INTO TEACHING RAPIDLY BECAME ACCUSTOMED TO READING MORE WIDELY, AND THEIR AWARENESS OF ALL THE RAMIFICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY IN WHICH THEY FOUND THEMSELVES LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 04 CAPE T 00495 01 OF 05 021015Z

PROVIDED A STIMULUS FOR THOUGHT AND ACTION WHICH THEY PASS ON TO STUDENTS. TEACHERS HAVE HISTORICALLY BEEN AN IMPORTANT FORCE FOR CHANGE, AND IT IS NO LESS TRUE IN SOUTH AFRICA. THEIR INDIGNATION, AGGRESSIVENESS AND DETERMINATION ARE RAPIDLY GROWING.

8. AMONG PROFESSIONAL BLACKS, THE FEW TOP EDUCATORS, DOCTORS, LAWYERS AND COMMERCIAL FIGURES TEND STRONGLY TO REMAIN IN THE BACKGROUND, THOUGH THERE ARE EXCEPTIONS. HAVING ACHIEVED MATERIAL SUCCESS WITHIN THE SYSTEM, MOST OF THEM ARE RELUCTANT TO ATTACK IT TOO VIGOROUSLY OR PUBLICLY. BLACK ARTISTS AND WRITERS USE THEIR TALENTS TO POINT UP THEMES ILLUSTRATING THE PLIGHT OF THE BLACK MAN. THEY TEND MORE OFTEN THAN OTHERS TO COME INTO CONFLICT WITH THE LAW WHEN THEY TREAD CLOSE TO OPEN CRITICISM ON STAGE OR IN THEIR WRITINGS. BLACK JOURNALISTS FACE THE PROBLEM OF DISCRIMINATION MORE DIRECTLY AND FREQUENTLY, AND ARE BECOMING MORE AND MORE OUTSPOKEN. PERCY QOBOZA, EDITOR OF THE "WORLD," IS PERHAPS THE BEST CURRENT EXAMPLE.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 CAFE T 00495 02 OF 05 021022Z
ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 DHA-02 CU-02 TRSY-02 /085 W
-----021126Z 031134 /10

R 020733Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5903
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMCONSUL DURBAN
AMEMBASSY GABORONE POUCH
AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY MASERU POUCH
AMEMBASSY MBABANE POUCH
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 5 CAPE TOWN 0495

9. BLACK UNIVERSITIES, IN SPITE OF THEIR SHORTCOMINGS
IN EQUIPMENT, STAFF, ADMINISTRATION, ANDH CURRICULUM,, ARE
CONTRIBUTING TO THE GROWING NUMBER OF BLACK INTELLEC-
TUALS. MANY BLACK STUDENTS RESENT THE FACT THAT THEY
HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE TO INSTITUTIONS PROVIDED BY THE
SYSTEM. STILL, COMPETITION FOR PLACEMENT IS KEEN AND
THE BLACK UNIVERSITIES BRING TOGETHER THE BEST AMONG
BLACK YOUTH AT AN IMPRESSIONABLE TIME IN THEIR LIVES.
THOUGH THE CAMPUSES ARE OFTEN REMOTE FROM POPULATION
CENTERS, THE STUDENTS HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO COMPARE
EXPERIENCES, EVALUATE THEIR SITUATION, AND CONSIDER
WHAT TO DO ABOUT IT. BLACK UNIVERSITIES MIGHT HAVE
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 CAFE T 00495 02 OF 05 021022Z

AN EVEN GREATER IMPACT WERE IT NOT FOR THE FACT THAT SOME
DISTINGUISHED BLACK SCHOLARS HAVE CHOSEN EXILE
BECAUSE OF AN INABILITY TO TOLERATE LOCAL CONDITIONS
ANY LONGER. EZEKIEL MPHAHLELE, HERBERT VILKAZI,
PETER ABRAMS, AND DENNIS BRUTUS ARE EXAMPLES. IT IS
AMONG INTELLECTUALS SUCH AS THESE THAT APARTHEID BECOMES
THE MOST FRUSTRATING AND PAINFUL. THEY REALIZE THAT
IN ANY MERITOCRACY THEY WOULD BE ABLE TO RISE TO THE
UPPER LEVELS OF STATUS, MATERIAL AND SOCIAL BENEFIT,

AND PRESTIGE. AMONG THOSE WHO REMAIN, MANY CHOOSE SILENCE AS THE SAFER COURSE.

10. THERE ARE ALSO SOME BLACKS WHO HAVE ATTAINED A CERTAIN POSITION OF INTELLECTUAL LEADERSHIP THROUGH SOCIAL WORK OR ACHIEVEMENTS IN INDUSTRY OR COMMERCE AND NOT ALWAYS AS A CONSEQUENCE OF FORMAL EDUCATION. PRESTIGE AND STATUS ACCRUES TO THE BLACK WHO CAN COMMUNICATE EFFECTIVELY IN THE WHITE MAN'S LANGUAGE AND WHO AIRS TO THE WHITES, IN THE HEARING OR SIGHT OF BLACKS, THE LATTER'S GRIEVANCES AND FRUSTRATIONS.

11. GENERAL FACTORS AFFECTING BLACK INTELLECTUALS: THE SAME DIVISIONS OF TRIBALISM, LANGUAGE, AND GENERATIONAL ATTITUDES EXIST AMONG INTELLECTUALS, AS AMONG BLACKS IN GENERAL, THOUGH PERHAPS LESS SO BECAUSE THERE IS A CLEARER REALIZATION THAT YIELDING TO THESE INCLINATION WEAKENS SOLIDARITY AND PLAYS INTO THE GOVERNMENT'S HANDS. SOME, LIKE RURAL BLACK LEADER BALDWIN MADAU, INSIST, IN FACT, THERE IS NO "URBAN VS. RURAL RIVALRY" IN INTELLECTUAL LEADERSHIP; ALL ARE ONE IN A COMMON INTELLECTUAL MERITOCRACY. BLACK INTELLECTUALS TEND TO GRAVITATE TO THE URBAN AREAS WHERE THEY ARE MORE LIKELY TO OBTAIN BETTER JOBS AND WHERE THERE IS A TENDENCY FOR THE HISTORICAL DIVISIONS AMONG BLACKS TO BE BLURRED. THIS IS ONE OF THE REASONS SOWETO IS THE MAJOR LOCUS OF BLACK DISCONTENT.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 CAPE T 00495 02 OF 05 021022Z

12. SINCE THE AFRIKANERS WHO WIELD POWER IN SOUTH AFRICA ARE INTRANSIGENT, THERE IS A GROWING CONVICTION AMONG BLACK INTELLECTUALS THAT ULTIMATELY THERE MUST BE A CONFRONTATION BETWEEN BLACK NATIONALISM AND AFRIKANER NATIONALISM. AS EACH PASSING DAY REDUCES THE PROSPECTS FOR AVOIDING VIOLENT CONFRONTATION, INTELLECTUALS ARE BECOMING MORE RADICALIZED AND THE VOICES OF MODERATION WANE.

13. THERE ARE FEW BLACK INTELLECTUALS WHO DO NOT FAVOR RADICAL CHANGE IN THE SITUATION FOR BLACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA. WHERE THEY DIFFER IS IN WHAT KIND OF SOCIETY THEY SEE FOR THE FUTURE. THEY HAVE BEEN CONFINED TO LIMITED AREAS WITHIN THEIR OWN COUNTRY. FEW HAVE VENTURED OUT OF SOUTH AFRICA. AS A RESULT OF CENSORSHIP AND PUBLICATION CONTROL LAWS, BLACK INTELLECTUALS ARE NOT WELL VERSED IN POLITICAL THEORY OR THE POLITICAL EXPERIENCE OF OTHERS. BUT THERE IS CURIOSITY AND A BELIEF THAT "ANYTHING HAS GOT TO BE BETTER THAN THIS." THERE IS A TENDENCY TO EQUATE CAPITALISM WITH RACISM AND OPPRESSION BECAUSE SOUTH

AFRICA CHARACTERIZES ITSELF AS A MEMBER OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM. SO FAR, MOST INTELLECTUALS DO NOT ADVOCATE A COMMUNIST SOLUTION, THOUGH A GOOD NUMBER SUPPORT THE RADICAL VIEW THAT THE EXISTING STRUCTURE MUST BE DESTROYED BEFORE A NEW START CAN BE MADE. OTHERS ASSERT: "I DON'T WANT TO BRING DOWN THE SYSTEM; I JUST WANT MY SHARE."

14. AMONG INTELLECTUALS THERE ARE DIFFERING VIEWS AS TO WHEN AND HOW ONE MUST OPPOSE THE SOUTH AFRICAN SYSTEM. SOME BELIEVE THE SYSTEM CAN BE USED TO BRING ABOUT CHANGES. GATSHA BUTHELEZI AND SAM MOTSUENYANE FALL INTO THIS CATEGORY. THE FORMER IS A PRACTICING POLITICIAN WHO AIMS TO PROMOTE HIMSELF AS A LEADER REPRESENTING ALL SA BLACKS BY USING THE HOMELANDS STRUCTURE AND HIS OWN POSITION
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 04 CAPE T 00495 02 OF 05 021022Z

WITHIN IT AS SPRINGBOARD. MOTSUENYANE, ALREADY A SUCCESSFUL BUSINESSMAN, SEEKS TO PROMOTE BLACK LIBERATION BY TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE FEW COMMERCIAL OPPORTUNITIES OPEN TO BLACKS. WHILE OTHER EDUCATED BLACKS WHO ALSO WORK WITHIN THE EXISTING SYSTEM MAY NEVER OFFER A REAL CHALLENGE TO THE SYSTEM, BUTHELEZI AND MOTSUENYANE QUITE OFTEN DO.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 CAPE T 00495 03 OF 05 021027Z
ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 DHA-02 CU-02 TRSY-02 /085 W
-----021123Z 031178 /11

R 020733Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5904
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMCONSUL DURBAN
AMEMBASSY GABORONE POUCH
AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY MASERU POUCH
AMEMBASSY MBABANE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 3 OF 5 CAPE TOWN 0495

15. THE YOUNGER AND MORE RADICAL BLACK INTELLECTUAL IS MORE INCLINED TO HEED THOSE WHO URGE REJECTION OF THE SYSTEM. AMONG LEADING INTELLECTUALS OF SUCH PERSUASION ARE STEVE BIKO, PROMINENT LEADER OF SASO, AND REV. MANAS BUTHELEZI, A RELATIVE NEWCOMER TO THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT. BIKO IS CONSIDERED TO EPITOMIZE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS AND FIRMLY INSISTS BLACKS MUST CLOSE RANKS TO WORK FOR "TOTAL LIBERATION". HE SEES NO PLACE FOR WHITE ASSISTANCE UNTIL SUCH TIME AS BLACKS ATTAIN A LEVEL OF STRENGTH WHICH WILL MAKE THEM IMMUNE FROM WHITE DOMINATION. MANAS BUTHELEZI REFLECTS THE "BLACK THEOLOGY" APPROACH WHICH IS ANOTHER MANIFESTATION OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS--
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 CAPE T 00495 03 OF 05 021027Z

AN ATTEMPT TO LOOK AT GOD THROUGH THE EYES OF BLACKS RATHER THAN RELYING ON THE WHITE VALUE SYSTEM. BUTHELEZI DIFFERS WITH BIKO ON THE ROLE WHITES CAN PLAY. HIS CHRISTIAN BACKGROUND LEADS HIM TO BELIEVE THE BEST STRATEGY IS NATIONAL RECONCILIATION WHERE ALL WORK TOGETHER TO BRING ABOUT CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA. BUTHELEZI WOULD FIND IT HARD TO ACCEPT WHAT BIKO PROBABLY FINDS INEVITABLE, I.E., THAT SOONER OR LATER VIOLENCE WILL BE NECESSARY TO EFFECT TOTAL LIBERATION.

16. BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS: THE AIM IS TO PROMOTE UNITY AND SOLIDARITY AMONG ALL BLACKS, FOSTER PRIDE IN BLACK ACCOMPLISHMENTS, COUNTER ANY SENSE OF BLACK INFERIORITY, INSTILL SELF-RELIANCE. MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE, BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS IS A STATE OF MIND. THERE ARE NO DOCTRINAL TRACTS LAYING OUT ITS TENETS; NOR IS THERE A FOUNDER OR A LEADER. ONE BLACK INTELLECTUAL DEFINED BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS AS AN ATTEMPT BY THE BLACK MAN TO REALIZE HIS POTENTIAL - TO REALIZE WHERE HE COMES FROM, WHO HE IS, WHERE HE IS GOING, AND HOW HE IS GOING TO GET THERE. SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS HAS COME TO BE THE PSYCHOLOGICAL BULWARK FOR BLACK RESISTANCE.

17. THE ROOTS OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS IN SOUTH AFRICA GO BACK TO THE 1940'S WHEN YOUNG MEMBERS BROKE FROM THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC). A GROUP MAINLY OF

SCHOOL TEACHERS, HEAVILY INFLUENCED BY PAN-AFRICANISTS, FORMED A UNITY MOVEMENT AND SOUTH TO DEVELOP "AFRICAN CONSCIOUSNESS." THIS SAME APPROACH WAS EVIDENT IN THE 50'S WHEN THE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS TOOK THE POSITION THAT ULTIMATELY THERE WOULD BE BLACK MAJORITY GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA. BUT IT WAS IN THE 60'S THAT THE MOVEMENT GAINED MOMENTUM. THE SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS ORGANIZATION (SASO), WITH BIKO ONE OF THE LEADERS, WAS A CLEAR ASSERTION OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS. BLACK STUDENTS GREW TO BELIEVE THEIR INTERESTS WERE NOT BEING LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 CAPE T 00495 03 OF 05 021027Z

FURTHERED BY THE NATIONAL UNION OF SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS (NUSAS) AND BROKE AWAY TO FORM THEIR WON ORGANIZATION.

18. UNTIL A DECADE OR SO AGO, TO BE BLACK IN SOUTH AFRICA WAS TO BE INFERIOR. BLACKS TRIED TO EMULATE THE WHITES, WHOSE LEVEL OF EDUCATION, CULTURE AND AFFLUENCE WAS ENVIED AND WHOSE HABITS WERE COPIED. IN THE SIXTIES, INFLUENCED BY EVENTS THROUGHOUT THE REST OF AFRICA WHERE BLACK GOVERNMENTS WERE REPLACING COLONIAL RULERS AND BY "BLACK POWER" SENTIMENTS IN UNITED STATES, YOUNG INTELLECTUALS FOUND FERTILE GROUND FOR PREACHING THAT SOUTH AFRICAN BLACKS HAD TO BE "DE-BRAIN WASHED." WITH THE RISE OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS, ONE OF THE FIRST SYMBOLS OF THE PAST TO BE REJECTED WAS THE TERM "NON-WHITES." THEY ARE BLACK AND PROUD OF IT.

19. AMERICAN INFLUENCE: WHAT WAS GOING ON IN THE UNITED STATES DURING THE LATE SIXTIES HAD ITS IMPACT IN SOUTH AFRICA. BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS IDENTIFIED WITH MARTIN LUTHER KING. THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY IN AMERICA WAS WELL COVERED IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS. COPIES OF BOOKS BY BLACK AMERICAN AUTHORS WERE PASSED AROUND IN INTELLECTUAL AND STUDENT CIRCLES, THOUGH BANNING LAWS SEVERELY RESTRICTED THEIR CIRCULATION. BANNED US FILMS SHOWING BLACK HEROES CIRCULATED CLANDESTINELY IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK TOWNSHIPS. THE BLACK POWER SALUTE MADE FAMOUS BY AMERICAN ATHLETES AT THE OLYMPIC GAMES IN MEXICO WAS ADOPTED. "WE SHALL OVERCOME" BECAME A RALLYING SONG. EVEN "AFRO" HAIRSTYLES AND BLACK AMERICAN FASHIONS WERE PICKED UP BY URBAN BLACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA. MOST SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK INTELLECTUALS AGREE THAT THE TERM BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS ORIGINATED IN AMERICA.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 CAPE T 00495 04 OF 05 021048Z
ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 DHA-02 CU-02 TRSY-02 /085 W
-----021122Z 031428 /11

R 020733Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5905
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMCONSUL DURBAN
AMEMBASSY GABORONE POUCH
AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY MASERU POUCH
AMEMBASSY MBABANE POUCH
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 4 OF 5 CAPE TOWN 0495

20. SOME COLOREDS AND INDIANS HAVE ALSO PLAYED A ROLE IN PROMOTING BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS, AMONG THEM RICHARD RIVE, ADAM SMALL, DON MATTERS, AND STRINI MOODLEY. THE LATTER ACTED AS PUBLICITY OFFICER FOR SASO DURING THE HEIGHT OF THAT ORGANIZATIONS'S INVOLVEMENT IN BLACK STUDENT AND POLITICAL AFFAIRS. PLAYING PERHAPS A LESSER ROLE, YET NEVERTHELESS IMPORTANT, HAVE BEEN SOME WHITE INDIVIDUALS AND INSTITUTIONS, NAMELY PETER RANDALL AND THE RAVEN PRESS; BEYERS NAUDE AND THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE; AND VARIOUS BRANCHES OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 CAPE T 00495 04 OF 05 021048Z

21. THE BLACK PEOPLES' CONVENTION: IN 1972 AN UMBRELLA ORGANIZATION OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS, THE BLACK PEOPLE'S CONVENTION, WAS FORMED. SASO LEADERS FORMED ITS ACTIVIST WING. THE ANNOUNCED AIMS OF BPC WERE TO LIBERATE AND EMANCIPATE BLACKS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL AND

PHYSICAL OPPRESSIONS; TO CREATE A HUMANITARIAN SOCIETY WHERE JUSTICE IS METED OUT EQUALLY TO ALL; AND TO REORIENT THE THEOLOGICAL SYSTEM WITH A VIEW TO MAKING RELIGION RELEVANT TO THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE BLACK PEOPLE. THE BPC HAS CONTINUED TO BE A PRIME MOVER IN PROMOTING BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS AND INTELLECTUALS HAVE WORKED HARD TO TEACH THE VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH IT.

22. THE ARTS: IN SOUTH AFRICA'S BLACK COMMUNITITES, POETS AND AUTHORS SUCH AS SIPHO SEPAMLA, MOLEFE PHETOE AND MOTHABI MOTLUATSE COMPOSE WORKS USING BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS AS THEIR THEME. PLAYWRIGHTS DO THE SAME AND DRAW PACKED HOUSES IN THE TOWNSHIPS. PRINTING AND SCULPTURE BY SUCH WELL-KNOWN BLACK ARTISTS AS BEN MACALA, EZRON LEGAE AND EBENEZER MTSHALI SHOW TORTURED THEMSELVES REFLECTING BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS AND SYMBOLIZING ASPIRATIONS.

23. BLACK JOURNALISM: THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE PRESS IS MAKING INCREASING USE OF BLACK JOURNALISTS AND PHOTOGRAPHERS. WHEN A NUMBER OF THESE WERE DETAINED FOR ACTIVITIES ASSOCIATED WITH REPORTING THE RECENT DISTURBANCES, THE PRESS GAVE PROMINENT PRAISE TO THEIR TALENTS AND EFFECTIVENESS. INCREASINGLY, ONE DAILY NEWSPAPER AIMED AT THE BLACK READER, JOHANNESBURG'S "THE WORLD," HAS SPOKEN OUT FORTHRIGHTLY ON BLACK CONCERNS IN SOUTH AFRICA. IN EDITORIALS AND OTHER MORE SUBTLE WAYS, BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS AND POLITICAL AWARENESS ARE PROMOTED BY EDITOR PERCY QOBOZA AND HIS STAFF. AT LEAST FIVE OF HIS STAFF WERE DETAINED DURING THE TROUBLES OF 1976 AND QOBOZA WAS HIMSELF CALLED IN FOR QUESTIONING BY SECURITY POLICE. QOBOZA HAS TAKEN A LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 CAPE T 00495 04 OF 05 021048Z

PERCEPTIBLY HARDER STAND AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT IN MATTERS AFFECTING BLACKS SINCE HIS RETURN LAST YEAR FROM HARVARD WHERE HE STUDIED UNDER A NIEMAN FELLOWSHIP. HE IS GRADUALLY CHANGING THE CONTENT OF "THE WORLD" THROUGH STRONGER POLITICAL EDITORIALS AND MORE SERIOUS LOCAL AND INTERNATIONAL NEWS COVERAGE. BEFORE QOBOZA TOOK OVER EDITORSHIP IN 1964, "THE WORLD" WAS PREOCCUPIED WITH SPORTS, CRIME AND VIOLENCE. QOBOZA BELIEVES HIS MORE SERIOUS APPROACH HAS STRUCK A RESPONSIVLE CHORD AMONG BLACKS. HE POINTS TO THE FASTEST INCREASING CIRCULATION FIGURES FOR ANY SOUTH AFRICAN NEWSPAPER (103,000 IN 1974; 120,000 IN 1975; A HIGH OF 177,000 DURING 1976 RIOTS; AVERAGE OF 160,000 TODAY).

24. THE ROLE OF BLACK INTELLECTUALS: THE VOICES OF BLACK INTELLECTUALS ARTICULATE THE INJUSTICES SUFFERED BY BLACKS, STIMULATE PRIDE IN BEING BLACK AND A NEW SENSE

OF DIGNITY, AND CONSTITUTE A MORAL FORCE TOWARD GREATER
UNITY AMONG DISPARATE PARTS OF THE BLACK POPULATION.
THOSE WHO CROSS THE INVISIBLE LINE OF GOVERNMENT
TOLERANCE ARE DETAINED FOR LONG PERIODS WITHOUT TRIAL,
BANNED, INTERROGATED AND OTHERWISE INTIMIDATED, OR IF
THAT FAILS, TRIED AND IMPRISONED OR DRIVEN INTO EXILE.
THEY ARE THEN, OF COURSE, RENDERED INEFFECTUAL. THEY
DO NOT YET HAVE THE FOLLOWING OR ORGANIZATION TO LEAD
ACTION GROUPS OR STRIKES. THE JUNE 16 SOWETO
UPRISING WAS A WRENCHING EXPERIENCE FOR BLACK INTELLEC-
TUALS. THEIR REACTION WAS A COMBINATION OF CONFUSION,
SHOCK, BITTERNESS AND SHAME. PERHAPS THE STRONGEST
FEELING WAS SHAME. THEY SAW SCHOOL CHILDREN WERE WILLING
TO DO FAR MORE IN THE WAY OF SACRIFICE THAN THEY HAD
EVER DONE. THEY VIEWED THE STUDENT PROTEST AS A DES-
PERATE MOVE LEVELED PERHAPS AS MUCH AGAINST THEM, THE
INEFFECTUAL INTELLECTUAL LEADERS OF BLACK COMMUNITY, AS
AGAINST THE WHITE AUTHORITIES. THEY EXPERIENCED A
STRONG FEELING OF INADEQUACY. YOUNG TOWNSHIP STUDENTS
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 04 CAPE T 00495 04 OF 05 021048Z

HAD CREATED A MOMENTUM WHERE THE INTELLECTUALS HAD CREATED
NONE. LATER, WHEN SOME INTELLECTUALS BEGAN TO ACT AND SPEAK
IN UNISON WITH THE REBELLIOUS YOUTH AND THEY TOO BECAME
TARGETS FOR POLICE ACTION, A KIND OF COALESCENCE BETWEEN
STUDENTS AND INTELLECTUALS BEGAN TO TAKE SHAPE. THE
INTELLECTUALS WANTED A ROLE AND THE STUDENTS RECOGNIZED
THE NEED FOR EXPERIENCED COUNCIL AND INSPIRATION. THEY
HAVE A COMMON BELIEF THAT TIME AND NUMBERS ARE ON THEIR
SIDE AND ULTIMATELY THEY WILL PREVAIL.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 CAPE T 00495 05 OF 05 021105Z

ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04

H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 DHA-02 CU-02 TRSY-02 /085 W

-----021121Z 031838 /10

R 020733Z APR 77

FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5906
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMCONSUL DURBAN
AMEMBASSY GABORONE POUCH
AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY MASERU POUCH
AMEMBASSY MBABANE POUCH
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 5 OF 5 CAPE TOWN 0495

25. INTELLECTUALS AND THE UNITED STATES: THEIR SENSE OF AFFINITY WITH BLACK AMERICANS AND THEIR ADMIRATION FOR THE US AS A MULTIRACIAL SOCIETY HAVE MADE BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN INTELLECTUALS DOUBLY DISAPPOINTED THAT THE US HAS NOT DONE MORE TO EASE THE PLIGHT OF BLACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA. THE FAILURE OF THE UNITED STATES TO USE ITS OVERWHELMING POWER IN THEIR CAUSE IS ATTRIBUTED LARGELY TO THE INFLUENCE OF AMERICAN CORPORATIONS WITH INVESTMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA. WHILE INTELLECTUALS DISAGREE ON THE SIGNIFICANCE TO THEIR PURPOSES OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT, NON-INVESTMENT OR DIS-INVESTMENT, THERE IS A CONSENSUS THAT AMERICAN FIRMS IN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 CAPE T 00495 05 OF 05 021105Z

SOUTH AFRICA HAVE NOT DONE ENOUGH IN THE WAY TO PROGRESSIVE POLICIES REGARDING THEIR BLACK EMPLOYEES. RECENT PUBLICITY ABOUT THE US GOVERNMENT'S DESIRE THAT AMERICAN BUSINESS ACT IN MORE CREATIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE WAYS HAS TENDED TO ENCOURAGE SOME OF THE BLACK INTELLECTUALS TO BELIEVE THAT THE US IS "FINALLY" GOING TO EXERT ITSELF TO BRING CHANGE TO SOUTH AFRICA. ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE IS A CURRENT OF OPINION AMONG THE BLACK INTELLECTUALS THAT THE US, IN ITS CONCERN FOR SETTLEMENTS IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, WILL EXCHANGE SOUTH AFRICAN COOPERATION IN THESE ENDEAVORS FOR RELAXATION OF AMERICAN PRESSURE FOR CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA. IN ANY EVENT, INTELLECTUALS WILL BE STRONGLY INCLINED TO INTERPRET US POLICIES AS BEING POSITIVE ONLY INsofar AS THOSE POLICIES ARE SEEN TO WORK TOWARD BRINGING ABOUT CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA. AT PRESENT, BLACK INTELLECTUALS ARE WITHHOLDING JUDGMENT IN HOPEFUL EXPECTANCY THAT THE US MAY NOW ACT EFFECTIVELY AGAINST APARTHEID. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION WITH ITS EMPHASIS ON

HUMAN RIGHTS WAS HAILED AS A POSITIVE SIGN. ANDREW YOUNG IS RESPECTED IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY, AND SUBSTANTIAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS ARE EXPECTED OF HIM.

26. CONSLUSION: THE RANKS OF SOUTH AFRICA'S BLACK INTELLECTUALS ARE THIN. THEY ARE DIVIDED AND MANY ARE IDEALISTIC AND INEXPERIENCED. WITH BLACKS LOOKING MORE AND MORE FOR GUIDANCE, SOME OF THE INTELLECTUALS ARE BEING THRUST TOWARD POSITIONS OF LEADERSHIP. THEY HAVE BEGUN TO ACCEPT MORE RESPONSIBILITY, TO TAKE MORE RISKS. IN A COUNTRY WHERE THEY STAND OUT PROMINENTLY BECAUSE OF THE SMALLNESS OF THEIR NUMBER, HOWEVER, THEY ARE EXTREMELY EXPOSED TO GOVERNMENT REPRESSION. ONLY A VERY FEW HAVE A STANDING IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY WHICH AFFORDS A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF PROTECTION AND IMMUNITY. NO ONE CAN GAINSAY THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THEIR FUTURE ROLE.BOWDLER

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: REPORTS, MINORITIES, PUBLIC ATTITUDES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 02-Apr-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977CAPET00495
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770114-0484
Format: TEL
From: CAPE TOWN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770496/aaaadfok.tel
Line Count: 671
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: fe8a8bab-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 13
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 09-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2921348
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: BLACK ATTITUDES: THE ROLE OF BLACK INTELLECTUALS
TAGS: PINT, SHUM, SF
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/fe8a8bab-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009